

ENGLAND'S CONFUSION:

OR

A True and Impartial Relation of the
late Traverses of State in England ;
With the Counsels leading thereunto.

TOGETHER WITH

A Description of the present Power
ruling there by the name of a Parliament,
under the Mask of

The Good Old Cause.

Written by One of the Few English men that are left
in ENGLAND.

[Arthur Annesley]

Judg. 19.30. And it was so, that all that saw it said, There was
no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel
came up out of the Land of Egypt unto this day: Consider of it,
take advice, and speak your mind.

Rom. 2. 1, &c. Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man ! whosoever
thou art that judgest, for wherein thou judgest another, thou con-
demnest thy self, for thou that judgest doest the same thing.

2 Tim. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. This know also, that in the last dyes peril-
lous time shall come. For, men shall be lovers of their own selves,
covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, un-
thankful, unholy. Without natural affection, truce breakers, false
accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good. Trai-
tors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of
God. Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof;
from such turn away.

Gal. 2. 18. If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make
my self a transgressor.

The third Impression with new Additions.

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AND OF THE STATE

A True and Impartial Relation of
the present Actings at *Westminster* ;
under the mask of
The Good old Cause.

IT is not unknown to any that have not been wilfully blind, with what a high hand of Arbitrary power the late Protector *Oliver Cromwell* swayed the Scepter of these three Nations for the space of five years, and laid the best foundations his short and troublesome Reign would give leave to have continued his posterity in the same unlimited dominion ; declaring, when death summoned him to account (if we may credit the greatest of our present Rulers) his eldest Son *Richard* his Successor in his usurped dominion, and leaving his Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant or Viceroy of *Ireland*, and his Daughter *Fleetwood* married to the Commander in chief under him of the Army, (which they had very far new moddelled for their turn) and the most probable competitor for succession in the Protectorship. Now that subtle *Lambert* was upon discovery, his active undermining spirit removed from all places of trust and opportunities of doing mischief.

In this posture of affairs was *England* and the dominions thereof, when the *Mon* was forced to quit his prey ; of whom I will say no more, because he is gone to his own place, and where I can speak no good of the dead, I hold it almost a duty to say no evil.

The Protector being interred among the Kings and Queens at *Westminster*, (at a vaster charge then had been used upon like occasions in the richest times) death giving him that honour which he had aspired to, but durst not embrace in his life time ; his Son *Richard*, an honest private Gentleman well beloved in *Hampshire*, the Country where he lived, ascended the throne by the invitation and encouragement of *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Sydenham*, the two *Jones's*, *Thurloe*, and others the Relations and Confidants of his Father, and by the contrivance of the Court received congratulations (prepared at *White-hall*) from most of the *Countries*, *Cities* and chief *Towns* of *England*, and from the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with engagements to live and dye with him ; *Addresses* from the *Independent Churches* 60000l.

by Doctor Gresham's and Nye their *Metropolitans*, and was indeed worshipped by many at the rising sun in our Horizon.

This introduction being made to the transferring the Government of these Nations from the *Stewarts* to the *Cromwells*, it was conceived by those who had proceeded thus far, that a *General convention or Parliament* wisely chosen by influences from Court, would easily swallow what had been so well prepared to their hands. And accordingly it was resolved by the *Junta* before mentioned, that a *Parliament* should be called to meet the twenty seventh of January last, and (By pretence of restoring the people to their ancient way of Elections, but really) that the Court might command the more votes, the *Boroughs* had Writs also sent to them, and the Elections were all made in the ancient way, only thirty members were called by Writs from *Scotland*, and as many from *Ireland*, according to the late combination of the three Nations into one Common-wealth.

This new kind of *Parliament* being met at the time and place appointed, God had so well ordered the *Elections*, notwithstanding the practices of men, that their *English Spirit* quickly appeared both against *Impositions* from *Court* and *Army*. And though their *Councils* were at first interrupted with an *Act of Recognition* of the *Protector*, prepared and brought in by the Court, which took up the first fortnight of their time upon the very point of *Recognition*, yet they were at length extricated from that difficulty by the *Expedient* of an honest Gentleman, in passing these votes on Monday the fourteenth of February 1658, without any division or negative.

Resolved,

That it be part of this Bill to *Recognise* and declare his Highness *Richard Lord Protector* and chief magistrate of the Common-wealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging.

Resolved,

That before this Bill be committed, the House do declare such additional clauses to be part of this Bill, as may bound the power of the Chief Magistrate, and fully secure the rights and privileges of *Parliament*, and the liberties and rights of the people: And that neither this, nor any other previous vote, that is, or shall be passed in order to this Bill, shall be of force or binding to the people, untill the whole Bill be passed.

Their next work was to appoint a Committee for Inspection into the Accounts and revenue of the Common-wealth, which had been lamentably squandered and wasted ever since 1648, (when the major part of the Parliament, called in 17° *Carolii*, was forceably imprisoned and secluded by the Army and their fellow members) and twelve Members versed in matters of Account, whereof Mr. *Scovens* was in the Chair, were

were selected for this work, and fully impowered for the work they had in hand, in order to the retrenching and lessening the charge of the Common-wealth,

On Saturday the nineteenth of February they proceeded in the Act of Recognition, and resolved.

That it shall be part of this Bill to declare the Parliament to consist of two Houses.

And had afterwards several dayes debate by order concerning the bounding of the *Chief Magistrates* Power, and the Bounds and Powers of another House, in relation to the former votes, but could come to no resolution thereupon, the *Court Party* stickling hard for the Powers given them by the Petition and Advice, and the honest Patriots of the House (whose weighty reasons then convinced the *Common-wealth* party now ruling to go along with them) denying it to be a Law, being obtained by force and exclusion of above a hundred Members in the year 1656, by which force also the purse was taken from the Commons by settling a revenue of thirteen hundred thousand pounds a year, in perpetuity of the Command of the single person, and the ruling Members of the *Other House*, being most of them Officers of the Army and Courtiers : which being allowed for Law, the people would have been absolute slaves to their power, and purse, stolen from the Commons as aforesaid.

Whilst the temper of the House was thus tryed, and they appeared sufficiently to be *Englishe* men, divers of the Members of *Scotland* and *Ireland* joyning with them in the same resolutions, by the joyn't advice of the *Court* and *Army* party, the question of *Transacting* with the persons sitting in the Other House, as an House of Parliament, was set before them, upon pretended grounds of Law and Necessity, and by arguments of Force and Interposition from the Army, and of Impoſſibility to proceed in any thing without the said Other Houſe. This Attemp was as stoutly opposed for fourteen dayes by the moderate honest Patriots of the House as the former ; the undoubted Right of the ancient Peers asserted, and all the said grounds and arguments confuted, except that of Force, which was not to take place with any thing like a free Parliament of *Englishe* men : But in the close of the fourteen dayes debate, wherein much of the honesty, ingenuity and courage of the *English* Nation did appear, (seeing all Affairs at a stand till something were resolved in this point) they came in a very full House to this well qualified Resolution ;

Resolved,

That this House will transact with the persons now sitting in the Other House, as an Houle of Parliament, during this present Parliament : And that it is not hereby intended to exclude such Peers as have been faithful to the Parliament from their priviledge of being duly summoned to be Members of that House.

The House of Commons (between the Protector , the Other House , and the General Council of Officers now summoned to meet at Wallingford-house) may well be conceived at this time to have had a Wolf by the ears , and (having shewed themselves Englishmen and not Slaves) had reason to entertain wary counsels , having some of their owne Members undermining them without dores ; and foreseeing a Dissolution , though not knowing whether they should die a violent or natural death , or have a mixt kind of decease , as it fell out afterwards : And therefore they resolved not to own them in the Other House as Lords , but called them , *The persons now sitting in the other House as a House of Parliament* ; neither would they treat and confer with them , in the usual way as with the House of Peers , and therefore found out the new word of *Transferring* ; and not intending to have to do with them , but for a tryal , they limited the time to be during this present Parliament , which they foresaw would not be long ; and to muzzle the new inconsiderable Upstarts sufficiently (if they should take too much upon them) they asserted the Priviledge of the ancient Peers as a good reserve , if the Parliament shoudly by the Protector and Army be suffered upon second thoughts to sit longer then was at first intended . And resolved also , That they would receive no Message from those persons sitting in the Other House , but by some of their owne number .

The House of Commons by this time had also by a Saving in a Vote concerning the Fleet asserted their interests in the *Militia* , and had under consideration an A^tc for taking away all Laws , Statutes and Ordinances concerning the Excise and New Impost , and concerning Customs , Tunnage and Poundage , after three years . And had vindicated the Peoples liberties ; by setting Major General Overton and Mr. Portman , and divers others (illegally committed by the late Prote^r) at liberty without paying Fees , and declaring their impositions and detention illegal and unjust ; and had their new Lord Jailer Barkstead and others at their Bar under question for the same . And had also a high resentment of the illegal sending freeborn English men against their wills to the *Bavbadoes* and other forraign Plantations , and to the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey , out of the reach of the Writ of *Habeas corpus* , and had appointed a tri^t & Bill to be prepared for remedy thereof . And had examined and discovered many other Grievances brought upon the People by the Officers and Farmers of Excise and others ; and by Major Generals , amongst which Butler was for his insolent actings and high affronts to the Law and Courts of Justice , put out of the Commission of the Peace , and a Committee appointed to draw up an Impeachment against him . The Committee also for Inspection , before mentioned , had brought in and reported to the House the state of the Accounts and Publick , and of the Martial and Civil Lists in the three Nations , by which it did appear , That the yearly Incomes of England , Scotland , and Ireland , came to *Eighteen hundred sixtie eight thousand and seven hundred and*

and seventeen pounds : And the yearly Issues to , Two millions two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty pounds : So that Three hundred thirty two thousand eight hundred twenty three pounds of debt incurred yearly by the ill management of double the Revenue that ever King of England enjoyed : And to maintain the unjust Conquest of Scotland, cost us yearly One hundred sixty three thousand six hundred and nineteen pounds more than the Revenue it yeelds.

Many other particulars were under their consideration , as to the Religion and Civil Rights of the People , too long now to be mentioned ; but in short , to give them their due, they did some good whilst they sat both to the Publick and particulars , and intended much more , and did no hurt , gave no Offices nor Gratuities to themselves out of the Publick Treasure , nor granted any money from the People ; which is more than can be said of any Parliament in our memory .

Proceeding thus successfully and hopefully to the general satisfaction of the People in the three Nations , who chose them ; the Protector and chief Officers of the Army , who were jealous of one another before , and Competitors for Government , grew now jealous of the House of Commons also , who being the Representatives of the People , were become also their *Minions* and *Favourites* . It was therefore now thought feasible to contend among themselves for the Power , before the People should recover it from them both : In order to which , the General Council of Officers kept their constant Meetings at Wallingford-house , and the Protector with his Party counterminded them at Whitehall . The Result of the Officers assembling was a Representation to the Protector , which was published by the Officers own order , the seventh of April ; and the day after a Copy thereof sent inclosed by the Protector in a Letter to the Speaker of the House .

This Representation was like Lightning before Thunder , both to the Protector and the house ; for though it hath some teeming fair Professions intermixed , it is written in such a canting equivocating language , whereof the Sword was like to be Interpreter , that the sting was easily visible through the honey , and their former actions and suitable continuing honestly better credited than their words .

Hereupon the Protector begins too late to think of securing himself from being surprized with their complements , and stands upon his guard . And the Commons house , as became Englishmen , wisely and courageously resolved to let the Officers know that they took them still to be their Servants , though they had for too many years ill deserved their wages , rebelling and usurping the Government at their pleasure ; and intending to try what they meant by the *Good Old Cause* , which , as they seemed to represent it , smelt of Gunpowder and ball , and whether the repentance held forth in their said Representation were real or Military , passed these votes on Monday April the 18 .

Resolved,

Resolved,
That during the sitting of the Parliament there shall be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army without direction, leave, and Authority of his Highness the Lord Protector, and both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved,
That no person shall have or continue any Command or Trust in any of the Armies or Navies of England, Scotland or Ireland, or any the dominions and territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free-meetings in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their Freedome in their debates and counsels.

And the same time to shew their care of the Army, and to prevent jealousies they passed the following votes.

Resolved,
That the House do presently take into confideration the wayes and means for satisfaction of the Arrears of the Armys, and providing present Pay for them.

Resolved,
That Serjeant Maynard the Attorney General, and Solicitor General do forthwith prepare an Act of Indemnity for all such as have acted under the Parliament and Commonwealth.

Whilst the house spent the rest of their time in confidering how to provide money, without laying new burthenes on the people, great contests grew between the Protector and the opposite Officers of the Army, both sides keeping guards night and day against one another, the Protector having in pursuance of the votes of the house forbidden the meetings of the Officers.

In this divided posture, affairs continued till Friday the 22. of April, on which morning early, Fleetwood the Protectors brother, Desborough his Uncle, and the rest of the mutinous Officers, carrying the greater part of the Army after them, and the Protectors partie flinching, the Conquest was made without one drop of blood, (which was strange in so ancient, hereditary, just, and undoubted Title) and the Protector forced to consent to a Commission and Proclamation ready prepared, giving Desborough and others power to dissolve the Parliament, contrary to the best advice, and his own Interest and Promise. And accordingly the same day, the Black Rod was sent twice to the House of Commons (from Fennys Speaker of the Other house) for them to come thither, but they admitted him not in, and much scorned the motion, having ever looked upon that Multum House as the Lower House and their own creature, the language being to send down to the Other House, when they sent the Declaration for a Fast, for a trial of transacting with them: And therefore understanding there were guards of Horse and Foot in the Pallace yard, after some motions made by Mr. Knightly, Sir Arthur Haselrig

Haselrig and others ; wherein Sir Arthur exceeded ; That the House should first declare it Treason for any persons whatsoever to put force upon any Members of the House ; and next, that all Votes, Acts, and Resolutions, passed by any Members of Parliament, when the rest were detained from, or taken out of the House by force, should be null and void, and other motions becoming Englishmen to that end, judging themselves under a force, and finding they were very unanimous, though near 400 in the House, in the things proposed, they resolved no Question, but adjourned till Monday morning the twenty fifth of April, and attended the Speaker in order thorough Westminster-hall to his Coach in face of the Souldiery.

Now the Court (according to the guise of the world in like accidents) shrank out of Whitehall into Wallingford House : And Fleetwood, Desbrough, and the rest of the Officers, great and small, took the Government into their own hands, the House of Commons being shut up, and entrance denied to the Members when they came on Monday (even to Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haselrig themselves) according to adjournment, the Court of requests and all avenues being full of Soldiers, who told the Members that they must sit no more.

After the Officers had new moddel'd themselves, castigering Whaley, Engolby, Goffe, and divers others of the Protectors party, and restorring Lambert, Haselrig, Okey, and others displaced by Protector Oliver, and played with the Government for a few dayes, and grew weary of it, (the inferior Officers and the Pamphlets (that now flew ab ut daily without controul) carrying things beyond the intenton of the Chief Officers, who would haue let the Protector a Duke of Venice for his Fathers sake who raised them, and their relation to him, which they had forgotten till now) they sent to some of their old hackney drudges of the Long Parliament then in London, who they knew would do any thing so they might be suffered to see, and on the fifth and sixth dayes of May had conference with them, the last of which was at their never failing Speaker the Master of the Rawles House in Chancery Lane, where both Officers, viz. Lambert who had already gotten his old place, and others with him, and Members, viz. Sir Harry Vane, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Ludlow, John Jones, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Scot, and others, to the number of twenty, solicited Will' am Lenthall Esquire to sit Speaker again, but he objected scruples in judgment and conscience, (which are not yet answered nor never will :) nevertheless Fifteen Articles between the Officers and some of the Members (who it seems over confid: n ly undertook for the rest) being first agreed on at some of their meetings, they resolved to meet in the House on Saturday the 7. of May ; yet that they might do it by surprise, they gave out that they would not sit till Tuesday the tenth of May : But the Itch of ambition and Lording it over the people, giving them no quiet, on Saturday the seventh of May early they met in the painted Chamber at Westminster, and to make

make up their number, sent for the two chaste *Cock Sparrows*, the Lord *Munson*, and Mr. *Henry Martin* out of prison, where they were in Execution for Debt, and honest *Whitlock*, and *Lise* of the Chancery Bench, and with this addition being two and forty in number, the Chancery Mace for haste being carried before them.

William Lenthall Esquire, their tender conscienced Speaker, together with the said Lord *Munson*.

Henry Martin.

Mr. Whitlock.

Mr. Lise.

Temperate Mr. *Chaloner*.

Wife Alderman *Atkin*.

Trusty Alderman *Pennington*, who became Executor de son tort (to 7000 l. estate of Sir *John Pennington*, who trusted him) before his death.

Pedantick Thomas *Scoot*, Successor to *Laud* both at Lambeth-house and the new *Lordy Council-board*.

Hastily rich *Cornelius Holland*.

Single hearted, preaching Sir *Henry Vane*, now become old Sir *Harry*.
Pideaux Attorney General to all Governments.

Sailing Sir *James Harrington*.

Levelling *Lidlow*.

P mbraceian *Olfworth* that made the Earl his Masters wife Speeches.
Vain glorious hair-brained *Heselrig*, with repentance like the Armies in his conscience, and the *Bishoprick of Durham* at his back.

Sir *Thomas Middletons own Jones*.

Doring *Purfoy*, without pity or faith.

Coll. *whis* the Lord *Fairfax's* Secretary got before his Master.

Religious Harry *Neuill*.

Mr. *Say* the famous Lawyer.

Mr. *Blaggrave* better known at *Reading* than here.

Coll. *Rennit* Sir *Henry Vane's* little second at Preaching.

Mr. *Brewster* a cypher to make up the number.

Sergeant *Wilde* best known by the name of the *Wilde Serjeant*.

John *Goodwin* alias *Herbe John*.

Mr. *Lechmore* the Attorney Generals second at all Governments.

A gull'n *Skeauer* a Kentish Christian.

Mr. *Dowres* another cypher.

Mr. *Dove* a Brewer of *Salisbury* come to help in this new Brewing.

Mr. *John Lenthall*, William Lenthall's own Son.

Saloway a smart prating Apprentice newly set up for himself.

Mr. *John Corbet* such another Lawyer as *Miles*, and of his own colour.

Mr. *walton* that will never forget his Son furnished Blacks for the
Protectors Funeral.

Gilbert *Millington* the Church snuffers, who desires no better trade
than Scandalous Ministers.

Mr.

Mr. Gould newly married to get more, the Common-wealth being poor.

Coll. Sydenham } a Dorsetshire couple in at all Governments, who had
Coll. Bingham } rather talk than fight, and yet will venture to do
any thing, being back't with an Army, against the naked P. ople.

Coll. Aye whose Name fills his head.

Mr. Smith a Six Clerk that wishes he could write and read.

Coll. Ingolsby that fought so well lately for the Protector, against Fleetwood : And,

Fleetwood that holy man who so smoothly supplanted the Protector, that he perswaded him three Crowns were not worthy a drawn Sword.

Stole on the suddain into the House, the Invitation of the Army for the sitting of the Long Parliament (as they call it) being first published in westminster-hall.

Upon notice of their sitting, there being double their number, Members of the same Parliament in Town, and many of them in the Hall, to prevent the mischiefs of a surreptitious pack'd Parliament, they agreed among themselves in the Hall though they were doubtful that Parliament was dissolved) that about a dozen or fourteen of them should immediately go to the House : And the persons that did so were these viz.

Mr. Anstey	Sir John Evelyn	Mr. Clive
Sir George Booth	Mr. Gwyn	Mr. Hungerford
Mr. Prinne	Mr. Evelyn	Mr. Harley
Mr. Geo. Montague	Mr. Knightley	Mr. Pecky

Who though with much adoe they got into the Lobby , where they found (Mr. James and Mr. John Habert) they were not suffered by the Officers of the Army to go into the House , though they disputed their priviledge of Sitting(if the Parliament were yet in being;) but Reason as well as the Laws must be silent among men of War ; and therefore after they had fairly made their Claim and found the House under force, they retired, and resolved by Letter to acquaint the Speaker and those Gentlemen assembled with him, what Usage they had received.

And accordingly on Monday the 9. of May they went to westminster, where understanding that there were no Guards upon the House , Mr. Anstey, Mr. Pryne and Mr. Hungerford went up to the H.ule , and had free admittance, receiving the Declaration of the 2. of May at the dore, which were published this day ; but Mr. Anstey walking afterwards into the Hall (the House not being ready to sit) to let the Members know, that though they were repulsed by force on Saturday, the House was open for honest men this day ; at his return, Captain Lewson of

Goffe's Regiment (as he confessed himself) and other Officers denied him entrance; he asking them whether they were a Committee to judge of Members without dores? they said No, but they were commanded by their superior Officers to let none in that had not sat till April, 1653. After some reasoning the case with them, the Captain told Mr. Ansley, that if he would give his Paroll to return without Sitting, he might go in and speak with whom he pleased; so upon his Paroll passed to the Captain, he was permitted to go in the second time, and soon after returned, telling the Captain as he came out that he had kept his Paroll, and wished he and the Souldiers would do the like. Mr. Prynne continued still there, and resolved so to do, since he saw there was force again upon the House. The discourse Mr. Prynne had within dores, and how he made them lose that morning, and adjourn by reason of his presence, without the Speakers taking the Chair, you may expect from another Pen. And how he attempted to sit again in the afternoon, but found there a Troop of Horse, and two Companies of Red Coats Keepers of the Liberties of England, and so bid them farewell; immediately after which, to prevent further interruption in their works of darkness from honest men, they barred the dore against three parts of four of the Members of the House by the following Vote:

Ordered,

That such persons heretofore Members of this Parliament, as have not sat in this Parliament since the year 1648, and have not subscribed the Engagement in the Roll of Engagement of this House, shall not sit in this House till further order of the Parliament.

Whereupon, Sir George Booth, Mr. Ansley, Mr. Knightley, Mr. Prynne, and the rest who had agreed on a Letter to be sent to them, finding them in their old temper of trampling the Priviledges of Parliament under foot, and Judging without Hearing, resolved to make no application to them.

But a Copy of the Letter coming to my hands, I judge it so worthy of the persons that subscribed it, and of the publick view, that I have here inserted it.

It was directed

To

To WILLIAM LENTHALL Esquire,
 Speaker to the Members of the House
 of Commons now sitting at Westminster.

SIR,

WE the persons subscribing, and others Members of the House, coming to Westminster-hall on Saturday the seventh of this moneth, understood that the Officers of the Army had by their Declaration dated the day before, invited the members of the Parliament to return to the exercise and discharge of their Trust, by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed 170 Caroli, wherein are these words And be it Declared and Enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that this present Parliament now assembled shall not be dissolved, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose, nor shall be at any time or times during the continuance thereof prorogued or adjourned, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be likewise passed for that purpose; and the House of Peers shall not at any time or times during this present Parliament be adjourned, unless it be by themselves or their own order. And in like manner, that the House of Commons shall not at any time or times during this present Parliament be adjourned, unless it be by themselves or their own order. And that all and every thing or things whatsoever done or to be done for the adjournment, prorogueing or dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void and of none effect.

And having casual notice immediately after, that your self together with the Lord *Munson*, Mr. *Henry Martin*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Heningham*, Sir *Peter Wentworth* Alderman *Atkin*, Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, Mr. *Blagrave*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Purfery*, and others, to the number of forty or thereabouts; were privily met together in the *Painted Chamber*, and seen to passe thence with a M^cc before you into the House; We did, not only out of sense of duty to our Countries, if that Parliament be not dissolved, but by the perswasion of multitudes of honest, faithful and well-affected people, minding us of our trust, and that you wanted number in the House for the publick service, resolve that (in regard of the great croud) only about fourteen of us (there being many more in the Hall) should presently go to the House, where if they found free admittance, the rest might follow; but getting with much difficulty up the stairs we found the outward dore shut, and strictly kept, yet by degrees we got into the Lobby, where we found the Inner door of the House guarded by Lieutenant Coll. *Allen*, and other unknown persons, Officers as it was laid of the Army, who though we pressed hard to get into the House, and urged their incomptability to judge of the Members without doors, which by the privilege of Parliament was proper only for the House, and how they were all oblieged to preserve the Freedome, Rights, and Liberties of Parliament, the former interruption and forcing whereof they had seemingly repented, and by your present sitting by virtue of the said Act of 17^o Car. have published to the world the injustice of their late dispersing us; yet by no earnestness nor arguments could we prevail, but were forceably hindred by them from going into the House; and when some of us acquainted Major General *Lambert*, whom we met in the Lobby as we returned, of our usage by the Officers, though he gave us Civil words, yet the force was not removed, whereupon wee withdrew our selves, resolving to give you this account thereof, that you may know that though to your selves you may seem to sit free, there is the same force as we concieve

continued at your doors, which excluded, interrupted, and forced the major part of the House in 1648.

And now having laid before you the matter of fact, and not being conscious to our selves of having done any thing in breach of our Trust, or which may merit an exclusion from publick Councils, and duly weighing the sad condition of these three Nations, and that in the multitude of Councillors there is safety, and that of the said House there are yet living at least three hundred Members, besides those that sat that day, not being admitted to discharge our Trust, and to give our faithful counsel for the good of these deltracted and divided Nations in the House, and to assert and vindicate our innocence and faithful adhering to the *Good Old Cause*, as it was held forth by the Parliaments Votes Declarations and Oaths till we were forcibly excluded: We have thought it a duty incumbent upon us for our selves, and the respective Counties, places, and all the People for which we serve in this way, to claim our own and the peoples right of having their representatives freed from force, and admitted to the House unless it be legally dissolved and unless in a Parliamentary way (by a full and free House, and not by any without doors) any thing can be charged against them to disable them which we are ready as Members in our places to answer and quit our selves of. And having no more at present to say, but to desire that this our Claim may be communicated to the House, we remain

Westminster, May 9.

1659.

Your loving Friends.

Thus you see (to the grief of all that fear God) the same pretended Parliament as was sitting in 1653, (till the Proc. & Mr Oliver by the best act of his life pull'd them out of the House) sitting again upon a Declaration of the Army (whose Slaves they are) to do what they please, as time will discover: And that you may see they can trust few but themselves, and are not changed (for all their fained repentance) they are already returned to the *Good Old Cause* of preferring one another, and their Friends to good Offices and Commands, and Councillors

lers places, as appears by their Vote of the 9. of May, viz.

The Parliament doth declare, That all such as shall be employed in any place of Trust or Power in the Common-wealth, be able for the discharge of such trust, and that they be persons fearing God, and that have given testimony to all the people of God, and of their faithfulness to this Common-wealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of the 7. of May, 1659.

And their proceedings thereupon, whereby they have chosen of their own Members for a Council of State, 21. viz.

Sir Arthur Haselrig Fleetwood

Sir Henry Vane Sir James Harrington

Ludlow Coll. Walton

Jo. Fones Nevill

Sydenham Chaloner

Scot Downes

Salway Whistlock.

Whose several Characters you have before.

Hab. Morley Squib-maker of the County of Sussex.

Sidney who hath nothing of Sir Philip but the name.

Coll. Thompson as wooden a head as leg.

Coll. Dixwell better known in Kent then trusted.

Mr. Reynoldis half Bishop of Winchester, and whole Solicitor to the Infant Common-wealth.

Oliver St. Johns, late Sollicitor to the King, now Sollicitor to the Common-wealth, to be chief Justice again; but they hold him to be *Satellus nomine non re*, and too great a patron of the Law.

Haselrig remembers his and Collingwoods Case.

Mr. Wallop a silent Ham-shire Gentleman, much in debt; fit indeed to be Councillor, if he could advise the Common-wealth how to get out of debt.

Of Persons without the House ten, viz.

Bradshaw, President at the formal murder of the King.

Lambert, a York-shire Gentleman, not born to Wimbleton house, but too crafty for them all now old Oliver is gone.

Desborough, a Country Clown without fear or wit.

Lord Fairfax, an ally for Lamberts brittle mettle.

Berry the worst of the Major Generals, except Butler.

Sir Anthony Aftley Cooper, a Gentleman too wise and honest to sit in such company.

Sir Horatio Townsend, a Gentleman of too good an Estate to be hazarded with such a crew.

Sir Robert Honnywood, Sir H. Vane's brother in law.

Sir Arch:bald Johnson, never advanced before the Marques of Argyle till he came for England.

Josab Barnes fool of the play.

Their

Their next work must be to vote money answerable to the dignities bestowed on themselves; they discontinued the Term (to the great damage and discontent of the people) because many Suits were depending against Vane and Huglrig; and if they rule on as well as they did when Oliver turned them out of doors with the brand of Knaves, Whoremasters and Drunkards, to the general rejoicing of the people, no doubt we shall be a happy Nation; And what esteem the people had of them appears by the Elections to the last Parliament, wherein though none but persons well affected to Parliaments had Votes, & the persons now fitting laboured hard to be chosen, very few of them were elected, the people generally looking upon them as apostates from the *Good old Cause*; and therefore no wonder they would have that Parliament to which only they were chosen never dissolved. I have now little more to do at present (honest and learned Mr. Prynne having saved much of my labour) but to let the world see how they go about by the example of the Army whose Apes they are to cozen the people of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, Parliaments and Money, with a Rattle, called the *Good old Cause*, which is a very cheat as you may see by the ensuing penitential Letter of one better skilled in their Cheats than I am.

**Mr. Hugh Peters Letter written to a chiefe
Officer of the Army.**

SIR,

Whereas the late transactions of the Army, have very sore afflicted me; and with Heman, Psal. 88. ver. 15 have exceedingly troubled me, because of my love to my Native Countrey, and the concernments thereof, I thought it my duty, being under much bodily weakness, to desire you to take and give notice unto others, of these my apprehensions ensuing.

1. Though call'd to speak to the Officers, I knew not their further intentions.

2. When I heard of his Highness distastng their meetings, I went to Three of the Chief, and beg'd as for a penny, that they would not proceed in any meeting, and did the same to other Officers I met withall.

The dangers I conceive are these, because the Protellor and the two Houses as they were Set, was the hopefuller way, in the whole world to scilie these Nations, and the croſſing thereof

most dangerous, as now it appears bold in the sin and sorrow of it. As

1. All the Armies addresses to his Highness to live and die with him, are broken, and their proclaiming of him everywhere slighted.

2. His Family, Himself and Lady, being truly godly; yet such a family of godliness and sobriety, not known in the Christian world, now broken, and the son of Jerubaal not regarded.

3. The Authority of the best Parliament and most freely chosen, trampled upon; yet, such a sort of men gathered together as would have been a Defence and establishment against all evils.

4. Nothing set up in their place, an Enemy at the door, a penurious soldiery, thousands of poor perishing that by that time might have been paid, Widows and Orphans already dying in the streets.

Trade gone, Private sou'dier grown Master, Law and Gospel dying, the whole Protestant cause in the whole world overtrottering, how much animosity, discontent, and self ends have prevailed herein I know not; but if the least encouragement was taken, by any word of mine, who was a stranger to any design, I do here protest my sorrow and grief for the occasion of it, and looke upon the whole business as very sinful, and ruining, of which the Child unborn and after Ages will be sensible; and this I write from the saddest spirit of a sick man, and

Your Lovingfriend,
Hugh Peters.

I know but one expedient, which is, That his Highness may be in the same condition with his House and Family; and that he be depriv'd to call in as many of the late Parliament as are at hand to make up a House and Council, and Indempnity to pass, and so forthwith to settle things. And for that which they call the Good old Cause, (I look upon it as a Cheat by the Jesuits put upon the Army,) the which we enjoyed, it being Liberty and Peace.

Whitehall May 10.

Thus far Mr. Peters.

1659.

But

But for a further discovery of the *Cheat* obtred upon the people by putting of the *Good old Cause*, I shall to avoid large recitals of Remonstrances, Votes & Declarations of Parliament, state the true *Good old Cause* in the House of Commons own words briefly out of their *Declaration of the 17th of April 1646*: At the end of the War when they were full and free which they caused to be affixed in all the Churches of England to call God and Man to witness their sincerity therein. And because the title of it is very significant and comprehensive, take that at large. viz.

Die veneris April 17. 1646.

A Declaration of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament of their true intentions concerning the ancient and Fundamental Government of the Realm; the Government of the Church, The present peace, securing the people against all arbitrary Government, and maintaining a right understanding between the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, according to the Covenant and Treaties.

The *Preamble* recites how their good intentions had been misrepresented by divers Declarations and Suggestions of the King, and thereby and by other practices the minds of many possessed with a belief that there was no just *Cause* of the War, And that now they had succeeded in the War they desired to exceed or swerve from their first Aimes and Principles in the undertaking the War, and to recede from the solemn League and Covenant and treaties between the two Kingdomes, and that they would prolong these uncomfortable troubles and bleeding distractions in order to alter the fundamental constitution and frame of this Kingdom, To leave all Government in the Church loose and unsettled, and themselves to exercise the same arbitrary power over the persons and estates of the subjects which that Parliament had thought fit to abolish by taking away *The Star chamber, High Commission, and other arbitrary Courts, and the exorbitant power of the Council Table*.

Then they declare in General that they will settle Religion in purity, according to the Covenant maintain the ancient and fundamental Government of this Kingdom, preserve the rights and liberties of the subject, lay hold on the first opportunity of procuring a safe and well grounded peace in the three Kingdomes and to keep a good understanding between the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* according to the Covenant and treaties.

Then to give fuller satisfaction they declare particularly concerning Church Government, that they are for the Presbyterian Government with a due regard that render consciences which differ not in any fundamentals of Religion may be so provided for as may stand with the word of God and the peace of the Kingdom.

Then they declare, that there was nothing they had more earnestly desired, nor more constantly laboured after, then a safe and good peace (with the King) which is the just end of a just War, and here they

affert the fundamental constitution and Government of this Kingdome to be by King, Lords and Commons, which they will, nor aile.

Then they conclude that the first and chiefest grounds of the Parliament's taking up Armes in this cause, was to suppress attempts of introducing an arbitrary Government over this Nation and *protecting* Delinquents, enemies of our Religion and liberties, by force from the Justice of Parliament, and declare that they will not interrupt the ordinary course of justice in the several Courts and judicatories of this Kingdome.

This is the good old Cause the Parliament owned

And therefore let all that fear God in the three Nations confide whence they are fallen even from the *Good old Cause* held forth in the Votes, Remonstrances, Declarations, Proclamations, Vows and oaths of the Parliament published in maintenance of our Ancient and well tempered settled Government by King, Lords and Commons, to a sneaking Oligarchical Tyranny under the bare name of *The Good old Cause*, which is as changeable as the adde heads that contrive it, as oppresive as the corrupt wills of licentious men can make it, must be as arbitrary as the Army will have it, and shall be more fully deciphered if they persist in it, which they never dare do, if the people who yet seem to be in a Leiburg remember their first works, and beas resolute to assert their Religion, Lawes and Liberties, as these desperate men of lost fortunes and reputations are hold to trample them under foot, and make this great people (once famous through the world for valour, wisdom, and Religion) a scorn and derision to all that are round about us, and themselves Monsters of men by their Atheism Apostasy and Inconstancy.

I shall conclude with som advice (now it's seasonable) To the Army, To the people of all sorts and degrees, and to the members sitting at Westminster.

1. Faithful advice to the Army.

First, remember the ends for which you were raised, for defence of King, Parliament, Religion and Liberties, that you were servants to them and received their wages, and were tied by oathes to them.

2. Remember how in 1647 you were first by some of your ambitious Officers, most whereof are since dead, seduced to Rebel against and betray your masters (whom you accused falsely) and to refuse to disband when the War was ended, whereby you are become Oppressors and Robbers ever since, And meet Janizaries.

3. Remember how in December 1648 you rebelled the second time against your masters, and forceably and traiterously as well as perjuriously brok the Parliament, imprisoning and driving away most of the faithful members, keeping only a few that prostituted themselves and the rights and liberties of the Kingdome with the lives of the King, Nobles and Commons to their own ambition and to your lusts and wills, as your petitioners in the house till April 1653 when you rebelled against

against them and for their selfseeking and notorious crimes and miscarriages spited them at large in your Declaration you absolutely dissolved them to the general satisfaction of the people

4. Remember how giddily and impiously your ambitious wicked Officers have lead you through horrid *Murders, Treasons, and breach of Oathes* from a happy settled Government under a King and Parliament. First to a *Ridiculous Commonwealth*, thence to a new kind of *Protector*, thence to *Praise God Bare-bones little parliament*, thence to a *Protector* with an Instrument of *Lambets making*, but never in tune, thence to *Tyrranical Major Generals*, thence to a new *Crochet called The petition and advice*, thence to a *New Protector* and two houses of *Parliaments*, whereof one was still born; thence to build up the things which you destroyed, whereby you have made your selves transgressors, Gal.

2. 18.

Thus have you marched so fast from one Government to another that the poor people wearied out, are fain to return home and sit still in a maze, abhorring your unstable ungodly ways, and crying to God in secret that he wil at length restore unto England Our King and Nobles as at the first, and our Judges as at the beginning making it a quiet habitation which by your ungodly courses hath been so long a howling wilderness full of birds of prey and beasts that do devour.

I have no more to say to you but that if your mis-leading Officers can reconcile your actions since 1646, to the Scripture-rule, which you find Luke 3 14. By which all Christian soldiers much more than Heathen are to walk, viz. *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely and be content with your wages*; then let them go for honest men and count me mistaken. But if this Discourse of mine by God's blessing becomes instrumental for the awakening your Drowzie consciences to see your Long-course of Sins and Provocations, and to repent, Then let me tell you your Work is short to make your Selves and the Kingdome happy; for as you have lately gone Six years backward at one Step, viz. from this time to April 1653. So if your Officers and You will but make one Step more, viz. from April 1653, to December 1648, to our *Ancient Long-experienced and fundamental constitution of Government by KING, LORDS and COMMONS*, you will justify your Repentance to be sincere, and render it famous to all the World, and deserve and have Rewards from your Countrey instead of Indemnity which you now beg from every Power that sits.

Augt 2.

2. Advice to the people of all sorts and degrees.

Delictum reges plectuntur Achivi, your rulers dote and go astray but you suffer by it as well as they. Therefore strive to set them right, & though they forget their Oaths and Promises do you remember yours: Have you ever seen quiet or settlement since the King was inhumanely murdered at his own Gate, and our ancient Government by King, Lords, and Commons changed?

changed? since our Covenant was concluded on Almyack ~~out of danger~~; this was one in 1648. shall I perswade you to return whence you are fallen? I need not; I know you are ready for it, and watch your opportunity.

Let me only tell you the time is now come; for having tryed all other ways, in so much that we are going round again where we first turned aside; you see no Foundation to build upon but our Ancient one, strive therefore for the restoring of King, Lords and Commons, that you may enjoy them and be happy: Remember how the Ministers and others of London, Essex, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Lancashire, and other Countys gave their Testimony against the King's death in 1648, and repent for that Blood with which the Land is defiled: Let those who so boldly in their late mutinous Representation to the Protector moved for a Justification of the Kings death and all Acts done in pursuance thereof know, that they may as soon pull the Stars out of God's right hand, as make those that fear his name in England justify such a horrid impiety for which God hath made us an unfeleld people ever since, and harsh given them and the Kingdom no rest ever since; nor will till they repent and do their first works, and call all the Members of the Long-Parliament together to sit free, that they or a new Parliament called by their advice may upon the secure Terms offered at the Isle of Wight by the KING, and such further reasonable Additions as the Times may require, restore us to our Ancient Government, and put an End to our Giddyness and Confusion which destroys Trade, increaseth Poor, and Threatens ruine to our Religion and Laws.

And let none be any longer deluded with the Bastard Good Old Cause now cryed up by some, which is but the setting a self-seeking Generation of Unstable Bloody men in supreme Authority; who as zealous as some of them seemed lately in the new dissolved Parliament for the Liberties of the People, think now that by their Hypocrisie and Falshood, as well as Force, they have advanced themselves upon the Ruine of their Country, that the work is done: And though they have cryed down a single Person and another House, think you such Fools or Slaves that you will not take Notice that an armed General is a worse Single person, and such a Coordinate Empire as they intend by the Proposals of the Army, (which now are come to the House by way of Petition as if they had not been agreed on before) a worse other House, then the last which was the worst that England ever saw: And this Rump of a caffereed House of Commons, taken into service again at Newbury, and new dressed by Sir Henry Vane (another single person amongst them) worse then the late Houle of Commons which was full and free; or then the Long-Parliament restored to its Freedom, or then any other that may be chosen by the free Votes of your selves and Legally summoned to Sit and Decree our Settlement.

I shall say no more to you but desire you to consider what I have said.

and to the Army, with hearts ready to forgive them and pay them their Accrues with additional Rewards; if now at length they Repent and Restore our violated Government, and obediently submit to what They and the KING shall Ordain for the Settlement of these Distressed and no otherways to be cured Nations: for we see by Experience that one V A C T I O N devours another, and will at length devour the People and their Liberties in the ways of Sin and Guilt that we are in. Let all of you therefore insist on this, That the Members of the Long-Parliament who have been unjustly imprisoned and secluded maybe Restored to Discharge the Trust you have put in them, and then we may hope for Settlement, which we have tryed almost Eleven years that we cannot have without them. And if the army shal again intercept and Interrupt you in your Sober and honest Endeavours for Settlement, Let them find by your vigorous Appearing against them, that you know them to be the Meanest of the People and so Few in Number that they are not One in every Parish in England, and many single Parishes have Ten times their Number of PEOPLE.

3. Advice to the members sitting at Westminster

First remember the volumes of Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Ordinances, Protests, Oaths, and Covenants wherein you as members of that house with othes have held forth to God and the world The good old Cause you engaged in to be for the defence of the King, Parliament, Protestant Religion, privileges and Liberties of the people; and that you renounced all other Causes wherewith you were alperced and never owned any other till that in March 1649 after you had injuriously joyned with the Army in forcing away the majority of the house of Commons and the whole house of Lords, you perjuriously apostatized from the Good old Cause and set up another of A Common wealth or free State opposite to it, and which you had ever formerly disowned as a scandal cast on you when you were charged but with an intention that way.

2. Remember and be ashamed that you have stuck at no oathes but have taken the oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, The protestation, The vow and Covenant, The solemn league and Covenant, The engagement, The Recognition of Protector Oliver, The oath to be true and faithful to Protector Richard, and have kept these contrary oathes and engagements all alike, and now do set men of the same stamp in offices and places of trust instead of men of courage fearing God and hating covetousnesse But do not think all is well when you have advanced your selves and friends, rather believe that though returning to what you have so often sworn to maintain you cannot so many of you be Counsellors of state, Judges and Officers military or civil, yet you may become honest men and Christians which will better become you, and bring you more comfort and peace at the last.

3. Remember that though by lyes & subterfuges men may be deceived and abused for a while, God is not mocked, Gal.6.7. but will though be

he bear long or length wound the hairy scalp of such as goe on still in their wickedness, *Psal. 68. 21.* and pierce you thorough with many sorrows.

4. Consider how God hath emptied us from vessel to vessel and led us thorough a wilderness of changes these eleven years of Apolitie, and gives no settlement, return therefore to December 1648. where you forsook settlement when it was offered by the King and accepted by the Parliament, and in doing your first works for King and Parliament in a full and free house, God will bless you and this Kingdome as at the first, and the present Protector cannot but rejoice also to part with his power upon those termes which both he and his brother the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland must needs grudge to have wrested from him by you and his treacherous relations.

I intended a word also of justification of Mr. Prynne, but that his Learned and seasonable writings praise him in the gates, and carry such evidence of undeniable truth with them, and so clear a testimony (from A Martyr for the people) against the abominable inquiry and horrid impieties of this iron Age, that the railing Rabblekabs of the time in what they belch out against him do but as dogs that bark against the Moon, and therefore I shall leave him to the cure prescribed by God himself for such tongues in the 130 Psalm, v. 3,4. *What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee thou false tongue? sharp arrows of the mighty, with coles of Juniper.* And doe depend as I believe Mr. Prynne doth also upon that Scripture word, that in due time the mouth of all iniquity shall be stopt.

F I N I S.

